1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [249] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important [439] food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejibaile* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilili*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

757 to apply to the traders for medicines for fever. All go to Mr. Lyon in case of snake-bite, and when taken in time, he says he has never failed to cure a case with either ammonia or iodine, as seemed to be indicated. It may be interesting to note that after obtaining no relief with one of these medicines, he has given the other, and with immediate good results. He gives the iodine in the form of alcoholic tincture in 10 to 15-drop doses, every 10 to 15 minutes. Some of them seem to believe in the incantations of the *Asas* or doctors, but foreign medicines are gradually gaining ground over sorcery. For rheumatic pains, headaches, &c., there are two remedies used. The simplest is counter-irritation by whipping with nettle leaves. The other is bleeding. The lancet is made usually from the tongue of a jew's-harp, broken off at the angle and sharpened to a point. This is set at right angles in a little stick for a handle, and is used by holding it over the affected part and striking it briskly with a finger. They never regularly open a vein and draw off a quantity of blood, but every stroke makes a separate puncture, from which only a few drops exude. At Horubeta I saw a man bled to relieve the aching of fatigue in his arms. He had been scraping *agave* leaves, to extract the fibre for hammocks. He had at least fifty punctures made over his two arms.

The natural products of the country are principally sarsaparilla root and india rubber. The sarsaparilla vine is green, angular, and covered with thorns. It grows very long and climbs over bushes and even trees in the more open parts of the forest. At short distances it is jointed, and if it touches the ground every joint sends out a new set of roots. The leaves are large and acuminately oval and have three longitudinal ribs, the mid-rib and two parallel ones, half way between the middle and the edge. The fruit is round and grows in a cluster something like grapes. The vine has a tap-root, and besides sends out a large number of horizontal roots near the surface of the ground, and from six to ten feet long. The sarsaparilla hunter first clears away carefully all the bushes and undergrowth with his machete. He then, with a hooked stick, digs into the ground at the base of the vine until he loosens the earth and finds where the best roots are. The tap-root is never disturbed, and it is customary to dig up only half the roots at a time, to avoid killing the vine. Having selected those that look most promising, he places his hand under one or two and gently lifting them, follows their course with his hooked stick, loosening the soil and lifting them out, following them to their ends. They are then cut off, the dirt carefully replaced around the vine, and the roots laid in the sun, or hung up to dry. A vine yields generally from four to nine pounds of green roots. When dry they are tied into cylindrical rolls a foot long and four or five inches thick, weighing about a pound.

222 439 314

India rubber is obtained by scoring the bark of the trees obliquely. Several cuts are placed one above another and in pairs converging downwards; the sap being directed in its flow by a leaf placed at the bottom, which serves as a spout, to direct it into the vessel placed to receive it.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to coagulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cacao, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I. Chapter VII. p. 684, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 684 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Valientes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Blancos, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri.

[531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

291 quality as a man's belt. Occasionally, as late as a few years ago, this same *huipil* was used with a piece of cloth attached to the back as a collar. The skirt, which is relatively heavy, is worn wrapped around the body, the stripes placed horizontally (see fig. 7, *d*). It is sustained by a string tied around the waist. Under the skirt, loin cloths of *nastate* (see p. 18) are sometimes worn. No other sort of undergarment is used.

301 Today, most women wear two necklaces, usually of beads with seeds or coins interspersed. Earrings of seeds, a round red seed from the *poró* tree, or a similar seed that has a black spot and grows on a vine, are favorites, but cheap earrings from *ladino* stores are also seen. Before, however, in addition to seeds and fruits, sea shells and even pearls were used. Pink sea shells, such as the *Guaymi* wear today, were particularly coveted. Animal pelts and bird's egg shells served as necklaces. Rings were and are made from the seeds of the coyol palm and a palm called *palmilera*. The women love combs and flowers in their hair, seldom appearing with less than two [439] combs and, as a rule, three or four, all of bright colors and bought from the Chinamen on the coast or in Buenos Aires. Barrettes also are frequently placed between the combs and the flowers. The hair is always arranged in two 302 braids and parted in the center. Often ribbon is braided in these plaits. Until recently, instead of ribbons in the braids, cotton thread dyed purple was used. It is said that no other color answered the purpose. The two braids were tied with this thread on top of the hair in the front. Today, the older women gen-

[continued p. 14-B, first paragraph]

TRANSPORTATION

481 By Land. The *Boruca*, as is true of all the Indians of Costa Rica, are great walkers, climbing up and down the sharp spurs and steep mountains of their native habitat. Their main community, as we have seen, is situated in a series of undulating hills, which in itself is not easy country for a horse or a mule. The 482 ox is what one might rightly call the only beast of burden common to these people. A number of families own an ox which is used

[continued p. 14-B, fourth paragraph]

[439] Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 198.

286 the weaving women to use, and then pay her
[457] a small sum for her work if a skirt was desired.
283] Those who did not wear *mantas* still made the thread and sold it or exchanged it with the weavers for some other object. The primary cause for lack of enthusiasm in weaving appears to be the class of cotton available. The
248 *Boruca* plant a tree cotton (see p. 6) that yields a very small pod, and consequently, the Indians become discouraged at the produce. The famous "colored cotton," which is so called as it is light brown, is also planted. This is the cotton which called the Spaniard's attention so markedly in El Salvador during the
[171] Conquest, and which is used today by the *Cayapa* Indians of Ecuador.[25] This colored cotton does not have to be dyed. It is, however, more delicate to make into thread than
283 the white cotton, as it breaks oftener. The
[286] best spindles, as the best looms, and weaving instruments of the *Boruca* are made of pejibaye palm, although *chonta*, both *mana-kra'* and more seldom *kanagira* (see pp. 12–13), are considered good (see fig. 9, *b*). The whorl, is commonly of bone, but pejibaye, *chonta*, and occasionally pottery whorls are seen. Some of the whorls are undecorated, but some have incised horizontal grooves (fig. 9, *b–3, 4*).

To make thread, the cotton is removed from
[248] the burr and carefully deseeded by hand, the seeds being saved for planting. The cotton is then put on a hide, and the women take two sticks, one in each hand, and beat the cotton making it as smooth as possible, after which, it is pulled into wide strips and rolled into balls. When the cotton is ready, the woman sits on a low bench and puts the spindle in a gourd on the ground. She holds the spindle in her right hand and the thread in her left, between the thumb and index finger, working so fast that it seems as if the spindle is rarely in her hand at all. This process the Indians call "dancing," as the spindle literally dances in the gourd (see fig. 5, *c*).

386 Once the thread is made, it is either left its natural color or dyed. The *Boruca* still have a few colors which they dye themselves, but red, yellow, green, and bright blue are bought,
[439] generally not as dyes, but as already colored mercerized cotton thread, at the nearest *ladino* town. Due to the relatively high price of these

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-kra'* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquianos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c – 4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old [439 524] rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is 324 for grinding corn and cacao.

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[82] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[82] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

savannas, and the Indians complain bitterly because many of these fields are being lost to nature, who is reclaiming her own. 311

Property and Inheritance. The oldest male member of the family distributes the property at the death of an individual. If the male members are too young, then the oldest female member does the dividing. Concerning the property, we may judge the economy of the tribe as a whole, more or less clearly from the situation in Boruca, the largest single community of these people. 428

Cattle is a rich man's privilege in Boruca. Amongst the three hundred and twenty-four inhabitants, there are only one hundred cows. These are owned by sixteen individuals, no man having more than six. There are forty-seven houses in the town, however, and there is an ox for the majority of the households, at least one or more pigs, and numerous chickens. In addition to this, there are four bulls, each one with a separate owner, and twenty horses divided amongst six people. The pigs are raised to sell to the *ladinos* and to eat. The cows are seldom killed, but are used as a medium of wealth, to sell, or to pass on as an inheritance. The cows are seldom milked. 231 [556] [439] 556 234]

Social Organization. A few vestiges of an older communal relationship are seen in the former lack of individual farms, and today, in the *juntas* or "get-togethers" of the Indians. When a new house is to be built, the man who wants to erect it calls upon his friends for help, after he has collected the necessary material. They all join together, and the construction is ready in a short space of time, the owner giving chicha, and often food to the helpers. It is interesting to note also that on one day a year, designated now by the police chief, but formerly by the council, the men gather to cut the grass and to "clean" the village of Boruca. They go systematically from house to house, and cut all the weeds in sight. This helps to maintain Boruca as a cleared, sanitary spot. 476 [342] [364]

Political Organization. Most traces of political organization have disappeared. The outstanding authority is the police agent, who is an Indian, but is appointed by the Government of Costa Rica. He is, however, de- 625 625 623

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular [illegible] the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck [illegible] vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] [439] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, [273] chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared [231] (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz poquisimo. . . ."

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [17] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
[824] remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves frequently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[753] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.19(B)]
Bribri
Cabecar

Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more often constructed of clay on a wooden table. Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of wooden rods are used for sleeping along with hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen in every household although their number is limited according to the family purse. The low stool is always present but a chair and a table are found now and then. Hanging shelves serve for storing food and all manner of odds and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabited by the Talamancas, it is only used as blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.

The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

[P.20(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

291 [439] a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have 286 177 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on [184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre [184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, [301] cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: "... They had two horizontal black bands

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 20(B)--ANALYST]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ." [84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [477] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).

301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[497] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
● 439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.
[rest continues top of P. 41(B)--analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and
756 power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
177 ever, his importance not only among the Cabécares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to
[484] travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the
[rest continues bottom of P. 41(B)--analyst]

[435] [148] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[149] Usually 100 pounds.

439 [435] The principal items are lemons, which bring ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 [465] 439 435 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 177 484 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or in Salitre where some make their home. The Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for patent remedies. It should be remembered that

756 757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets

[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The

756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[142] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

643 797 648 in the progress and development of his people and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 648 [262] The King made various trips to San José. The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occasion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

[439] Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 644 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

[613] King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña. This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.